1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

The boundaries between the lineage sections and between the homestead lots are well marked by stones, coconut and *pukamo* trees, and graves of ancestors. There is no record that a guard similar to the *pule* was used to protect these boundaries, which are nevertheless well known, well kept, and respected.

If a boundary tree dies or is blown down, another is immediately planted in its place and tended until it becomes an efficient boundary marker. People of the lot use only the trees growing on their own household lots for domestic purposes. If a nut drops from a tree growing on a homestead boundary and falls on the land of the next lot, it must be procured at once. If it is allowed to remain to grow into a tree across the boundary, the tree belongs to the man on whose land it grows. A person in theory has the right to keep nuts that have fallen on his property from trees growing across the boundary, but this is rarely done.

At the death of the household head, his house site and nut trees descend in the paternal line. The children of the deceased act as joint owners of the property through the trusteeship of the eldest male of the family. A man or a woman who may marry and live away from his or her paternal lot still has a claim to the nuts grown on the lot and expects to draw nuts from that lot in an emergency. Children of a man residing matrilocally retain an interest in their father's paternal lands. Children do not normally inherit coconut trees from their mother. According to Mitimoa, it was formerly the custom to divide coconut trees among men, giving them to women only when there were no sons in the family, but the custom today is to share coconut trees among both sons and daughters so that none will ever be deprived of nuts.

In former days, a well was sunk on each homestead lot for the use of the households living on the lot. Three lots in Yato still have their own wells, each used by the people of the lot. Others may draw water from these wells, but through courtesy right only, I think. If the water level in the well is low, outsiders drawing water are regarded with a somewhat unfriendly eye.

No story or legend is remembered which relates how the lineage sections or lots were originally formed. Pau believes that the paternal lineages of Ngake held *tutuhi* contests at various times to settle boundaries, and cites as evidence the very irregular boundary lines. Loto informants have no memory of *tutuhi* for the Loto sections, and add: "The Loto sections are so small and short, running across Wale as they do at its narrowest part, that they would not be worth quarreling about—the gain to one paternal group at the expense of the other would be so slight."

As a matter of speculation, it is likely that originally the people of the same paternal lineage congregated together on the same piece of land. Cemeteries would be placed there and boundaries marked off. Thus sections of land would come to be associated with certain lineages. But through patrilocal marital residence and personal choice,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

ported by the notch in the rear seat (*yulunga matila*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's fundament. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*tukou*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodman gently splashed (*tupipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito bit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disentangled the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *yi tata*. A bungling or inexpert rodman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *yi kowikouri*.

While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was tapu to drop anything overboard, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or the dropped fish, by its rapid tail-spin descent through the water, frightened the school. The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old men and was fined by this body 50 talo puddings (*mouw*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also tapu formerly to let the rod slip from the thigh. The rodman who allowed his rod to slip was reported by his crew to the old men and by them fined 1,000 talo puddings. The slipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the hooks and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old men, the god Malokitelangi punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day. These signals were made by holding a wet paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*lupa*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish, two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 50, then 50 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*toukolo*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle, but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 100 fish but less than 200, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. Those canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

The captains of the returning canoes carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *wukumangalo*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*kumete*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was sometimes perilous as stories tell of men whose hooks were stolen from these pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the rod at sea were believed to be taken by fish to the undersea house of the god Totolos and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapuka today, because, it is said, the fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

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285 The use of plaited mat material for canoe sails is mentioned on page 181.
531 Informants stated that formerly four light mats were sewn together (*tui*) with strips of pandanus and a fish bone needle to make a sort of rough mosquito net (*ana*).

285 Malos made of soft pandanus *kie* material (*malo kie*) were formerly
292 worn by the men for dress occasions. They were worn with the malo of sennit (*malo kawa*) for wrestling contests and fighting (pl. 3, *c*). Three malos in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection are:

Malo 3501. 11 feet 5 inches long, 6½ inches wide, fringe on upper and lower edges 1¼ inches deep. Wefts 12 to the inch. *Paiokiole* pattern. The technique follows the Samoan fine mat style with a lower border commencement of a three-weft braid, the dextral and sinistral elements functioning as fringe (pl.4,*B*). The top border is a three-weft braid finish, the dextrals and sinistrals again forming a fringe. The working dextrals on the right upper corner are secured with two overhand knots and are not braided. (See 27, figs. 161, 163, 164.)

Malo B3662. 14 feet 4 inches long, 7 inches wide, upper and lower fringe 1½ inches deep. Wefts 12 to the inch. *Paiokiole* pattern. The technique varies slightly from the previous malo in that the three-weft braid fixations are worked on the reverse side, so that the garment was probably turned during plaiting. This is further evidenced by the fact that the knotted tail finish is formed on the right lower corner. Not only the lower and upper edges, but the right side as well, have the braid fixation and fringes. It is possible that the left side was plaited in a similar fashion, making the similarity to the Samoan fine mat clear, but the left side is now undefined and ragged, perhaps eaten away by rats.

285 Malo C8069. 6 feet 8 inches long, 10½ inches wide, upper and lower fringes about
292 ½ inch deep. Wefts 8 to the inch. *Paiokiole* pattern. This malo (pl. 4, *C*) was made
178 as a sampler which explains its shortness. The material is soft and pliable, but the modern workmanship is rough compared with the two old malos just described; these malos are no longer made in Pukapuka today and thus the women are not very skilled at the work. The top and bottom edges are fixed by a five-weft braid, the left and right edges are given the customary mat turn. The right upper corner finishing dextrals are knotted.

The design material in all three malos is not overlaid but forms plaiting elements. A fourth malo examined in the field corresponded in all particulars to the first two malos:

285 It was 12 feet 7 inches long and 8 inches wide and had the *paiokiole* design. An
292 informant stated that this malo was one of several made by his mother and given him when he attained sociological adulthood (*waketane*) about 50 years ago. He suggested that formerly some malos were made 5 fathoms or more long, especially those that might be needed for fighting. I neglected to verify this statement, but if true it means that a malo of such length wound round the waist would have formed valuable defensive equipment against spear thrusts.

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl. 38, no. 4) figures a typical Pukapukan malo in the British Museum, 8 feet long, 10 inches wide, and with the usual *paiokiole* design.

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were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *kie* pandanus material. Three or four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa uo*). The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were fringed with strips of *kie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *uelo* cord (*matai uelo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the antiquity of the garment:

Wakakawua ki te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tuputupu a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land) certainly,
Yongia ona wakaeveevenga.	Smelled its fringe.

Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga* when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yeu*) worn by women. The art of making the *yeu* has been lost today.

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19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *uvio* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11¾ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

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The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

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The headdress of priests of Muliwutu was called *aumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Laupapa. Two strips of red-dyed *uvio* bark (*uuti uvio*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamanaia sub-lineage, was called *pulou*, and was associated with the god Te Awuawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *uuti uvio* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *uuti uvio* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

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The headband of Tua and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *aumanga pakayau kotauu* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyeu. It consisted of the usual *uuti uvio* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tua was associated with the goddess Taua. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *hupanga ya*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the cocoanut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Taua had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Taua donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Taua had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

The headdress of Yalongo and Yayi lineages was called *putiki kohoo*. It was associated with Te Atua Vaelua and Te Alongaoa. The long hair was oiled and braided

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period, organization was in terms of either uma or *yolonga* units. Village membership is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nofo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malama*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yolonga*) principle. The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

Kennedy (19,p.297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage. Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent." This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupolo*. These men served as an advisory council to the chief (*aliki*), who might be of any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

> The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal lineages or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period, which is then called *te tahulonga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata* and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koa wanau au i te tahulonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakaulukiki o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occasionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *maina utuutu* (pleasure moons), then the oldest first-born child of the succeeding *maina* 30 (tapu moons) becomes the *tai tangata* of the preceding *maina utuutu*, and all children born during the twelve-month period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata* periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai tangata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kulápupuni (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.

Kulmicemee (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.

Kamoto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called te tamaliki or te kaniiki (children).

Tamalonga and tautitinga (to put on a malo or kilt): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.

Kivatagalea: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called lopa and tamawawine.

Tane and wawine: married men and women, adults with families.

Mafiveka or tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 50 years on.

Tupolo: the old, grey-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general te kau matutua.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

824 787 [521] friends or relatives but this will not ward off its effects. Nor does it help to keep a dream secret. In point of fact, the Pukapukans take great pleasure in talking of their dreams and discussing them in great detail. Many dreams told us did not seem particularly significant but related to the arrival of a steamer at Pukapuka, bringing with it large supplies of flour and clothes for the people. These might be construed as anxiety dreams, as one of the ever-present problems of the Pukapukan of today is to obtain enough clothes to keep himself and family dressed according to the white man's idea of decency; and in an atoll where a heavy storm may seriously deplete the available food supply, it is perhaps only natural during the hurricane season to dream of abundant food. A number of dreams related to us are reserved for treatment elsewhere.

RELIGION

CLASSIFICATION OF GODS

178 771 Nowhere has cultural change had more effect on Pukapuka than in the sphere of religion. Christianity has not only erased old-time beliefs and customs; it has made it a sin to talk about pre-Christian religious practices. In the 78 years since the island was Christianized, memories of the old religion have become rusty in a way that does not apply to social organization. It is impossible to obtain eyewitness accounts of sacred ceremonies; this lack of first-hand material necessarily renders the following discussion somewhat abstract.

776 Nowhere is the confusion over old-time religion more evident than in the subject of gods (*atua*), their functions and their classification. This was considered many times with different groups of informants after we had gained their confidence; each group had differing ideas of what the old time set-up really was. The following classification suggested by informants is probably as nearly correct as any that could be made at this late date:

Atua wolo: big god.
Atua punupunu: principal gods of the paternal lineages (po) who are worshiped by priests of the lineages on special religious structures (awanga ya).
Atua tangaloa: principal departmental gods, not associated with lineages, prayed to anywhere, any time, by layman or priest.
Atua tangata: deified ancestors associated with the specific paternal lineages of which they were members when alive, prayed to by lineage priests on religious clearings (yiunga) or by lay lineage members at commemorative stones (watu mauli ola).
Atua no te po: departmental gods of the Underworld, not prayed to.

Besides the above gods there are also several unclassified gods who were not prayed to and are now remembered only in legends. Through forgotten historical accident and because of dual function, several gods appear in more than one category. Informants could give no meaning to the category names, *punupunu* and *tangaloa*. Classification concerns only the important gods—

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

805 be names of these moons, but it is a matter impossible to decide today. The names of the nights of the moon are:

1. Koa makatia e te la: (the moon is) thrown out by the sun.
2. Po wakaata: making shadows of the night.
3. Po pula: the night is spotted.
4. Po lua: the second night.
5. Po tolu: the third night.
6. Po wa: the fourth night.
7. Po lima: the fifth night.
8. Koa tutu te maina: the moon is erect, or stands high.
9. Koa itu wenua: the land is divided into two (by the moon?).
10. Koa tu mai loa ki lunga te maina: the moon is on high.
11. Koa ngaluc te maina: the moon moves (higher).
12. Koa wolo te maina: the moon is big.
13. Koa wolo loa te maina: the moon is very big.
14. Koa momona te maina: the moon is fat.
15. Koa maliko te maina: the moon shines or glimmers.
16. Koa wakaulu te maina: the moon is overhead.
17. Koa yengie te maina: ? (refers to the night when the crabs mate).
18. Te lama yengi: the yellow light, or the yellow torch.
19. Te uhaki kau pouli: the first-born of the group of dark nights.
20. Wakatai: to make the first dark night.
21. Wakalua: to make the second dark night.
22. Wakatolu: to make the third dark night.
23. Lama wakatau: the (time for) torch fishing is equal (to the length of moonlight).
24. Koa loa te po: the night is long.
25. Koa ngaluc ki ngake: (the moon) moves to the east.
26. Koa walai loa ki ngake: (the moon) tilts well to the east.
27. Koa kauliliki loa: (the moon) is very small.
28. Koa wakatau wenake ma te ulu o te ata matua: (the moon) rises at the same time as the darkness before dawn.
29. Koa wakatau wenake ma te ata maoa: (the moon) rises just at the first streaks of gray dawn.
30. Koa wenake ma te ata kena: (the moon) rises just at gray dawn.
[31. Koa wakatau wenake ma te la: (the moon) rises with the sun.]

ASTRONOMY

821 773 [178 762] Pukapukan study of the heavens seems to have been governed by the use of the stars and planets as guides for seasonal and fishing changes and the use of the stars as guides for long sea voyages. With the decadence of sea voyaging, much of the old-time lore fell into disuse and was lost. Puyaka, the great expert in star lore at the time of Tuiva committed suicide and took with him to his grave much esoteric star lore. Informants were sure that Pukapukan knowledge of the stars is today but a remnant of former knowledge. The younger men now know only a few star names, some of which they can not even identify. The legend of Maui (1) accounts for the way in which Maui's stars were placed in the sky. Maui was later asked by the gods to count all the stars, a feat which he accomplished. Beyond this, informants could say nothing about the origin of stars.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

839 sorted husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men. No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.

864 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practises of, and attitudes
858 to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
561 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[8]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[9] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They related principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

178 [8] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 135–43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up
582 that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal tapus, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict tapu that formerly held between a man and his cousine-in-avoidance (females only). The tapu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this tapu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 259–63). This tapu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly tapu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes —— disapproval among the old.

[9] Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms., 1938).

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalizing with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and